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## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL PEACE CONGRESS.

The Eighth International Peace Congress opened at Hamburg at 10 o'clock A. M. on the 12th of August and continued in session until the 16th. Over two hundred delegates were present, representing societies in the following seventeen countries: Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Austria, Spain, Portugal, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Roumania, Russia, Mexico and the United States. The Hamburg *Fremden-Blatt* thus speaks of the opening: "Nearly all the languages of Europe were to be heard in the greetings and opening addresses. The assembly was a genuinely international one. This union of many languages gave the observer an excellent opportunity to study international differences and international character."

Dr. Adolf Richter of Pforzheim, who had been selected president, opened the Congress at 10 o'clock, in a short speech in which he referred to the great ideal of the peace movement and to the fact that the cause had already won to itself many eminent persons. After greeting and welcoming the delegates he introduced Senator Herz of Hamburg, who welcomed the delegates in the name of the Senate, the officials, the city and the people of Hamburg. He regretted that the new city hall was not finished and ready to be put at the service of the Congress. The local committee had done everything in their power to give the guests a worthy reception, and they had had the hearty coöperation of the city authorities. "You know," he said, "that you will find in our city a good field for your labors and a people inclined to peace. Unquestionably this is true. We here hate and detest war as you do, and are, like you, of the opinion that any war which may be avoided is a crime, and that it is the first duty of every government and of every people to use every possible means to avoid war. Our wishes and our feelings are on your side, and our understanding also tells us that people everywhere might enter into a peaceful union one with another. When such a union will really be made, we can not say. Meanwhile we rejoice in every step towards the realization of your ideal." After referring to the recent words of peace uttered by the Russian and German emperors and to the many efforts put forth for peace in recent years, he thus concluded: "He who labors to establish peace deserves the thanks of mankind. You especially are with noble inspiration and holy zeal consecrating yourselves to the peace of the nations. Go on with your work; keep the public conscience awake; keep the dread realities of war before the eyes of mankind, that means may be devised to make war in the future impossible."

Dr. Haberland of Berlin in an eloquent speech then welcomed the delegates in the name of the peace societies of Germany. He referred to Hamburg as "the metropolis of German commerce with the world, the city of our fatherland which has the high task to fulfill of bringing us into nearer and more peaceful relations with other peoples." The speech was greatly applauded.

Dr. Löwenberg of Hamburg then extended a welcome to the delegates on behalf of the Committee of Organization. In the course of his remarks he said: "All religions favor the idea of peace, all princes and governments to-day pride themselves on being considered lovers of

peace, all peoples wish to live in peace—and yet how small is the number of those who have rallied to our flag." He gave the reasons why so many stand aloof through opposition or indifference, or because they believe that the peace ideal is utopian. "What to-day is utopia, will perhaps not be so to-morrow, as has been so often found true in the events of the world. It is said that if war should cease the struggle which gives men spirit, courage and inspiration would cease. But to be a man is to be a "struggler," and with the cessation of war courage and self-sacrifice will not be lost. Sailors, firemen, physicians and nurses will show courageous self-sacrifice then as now. The thirteen under Nansen exhibited self-sacrifice and heroism, and five years ago when the people of Hamburg were fighting the cholera it became evident that under the common citizen's garment beats as courageous a heart as under the ornamented coat of the soldier. He who has gone through the poor narrow streets with their sorry dwellings, or seen the poor fathers of families seeking labor knows that there are struggles more difficult than those of which the boastful history of battles tells. May we be helped to carry on such wars, such contests, and may the millions which are now sacrificed to militarism be consecrated to struggles like these." He then spoke of the necessity of training the youth for peace, and closed with a reference to the Hamburg harbor, every one of whose ships is a messenger of peace between the nations. "Peace is prosperity," "peace is beauty," "peace is labor."

After the long continued applause following Dr. Löwenberg's speech had ceased Frederic Passy of Paris was introduced and responded to the welcome which had been given the delegates. Taking up the previous speaker's words, "Peace is prosperity, beauty and labor," he spoke in a most earnest and emphatic manner of the blessings of peace, which all men unmistakably wish. "We all belong to the great human family, in which the great heart of humanity must beat for universal brotherhood." After speaking of commerce and the merchant as means of bringing about peace he closed with the words, "Vive la paix et à bas la guerre!"

The President then read to the Congress a number of telegrams from different parts of Europe, one of them from Maurus Jokai sending greetings from the Hungarian Peace Society.

The Secretary of the International Peace Bureau at Berne then read the report of the work of the Bureau for the year.

The organization of the Congress was then completed. The Business Committee chosen consisted of Dr. Otto Ernst, Germany; M. LaFontaine, Belgium; Fredrik Bajer, Denmark; Frederic Passy, France; Felix Moscheles, England; E. T. Moneta, Italy; M. Lund, Norway; Bertha von Suttner, Austria; Magelhaes Lima, Portugal; Elie Ducommun, Switzerland; and General Türr, Hungary.

The committees were then chosen which were to study and report upon the various subjects to be brought before the Congress.

The delegates were then invited to partake of a lunch which the Hamburg Society had prepared for them.

## AFTERNOON.

The afternoon of the opening day was occupied by the committees in the consideration of the various subjects referred to them.

## EVENING.

A public meeting was held in the evening in one of the largest halls in Hamburg. The audience was variously estimated at from two to five thousand people. We have never seen a larger audience gathered in any country in the interests of peace. Many hundreds stood about the entrances and along the walls during the entire exercises which lasted until after eleven o'clock, and all present seemed thoroughly in sympathy with the object of the meeting. The meeting was opened with the reading of a strong, beautiful poem which had been composed especially for the occasion by Richard Schmidt-Cabanis. The chairman of the meeting, Dr. Otto Ernst, president of the Hamburg Peace Society, then briefly addressed the audience. He contended that the abolition of war could not be brought about by a few eminent people, but only by the masses of society whose sufferings from war are greater than those of superior position. Every reasonable man is of course opposed to war, but the number of sceptics who believe that the object of the peace movement is unrealizable is astonishingly large. The chief task of the peace organizations is to combat this scepticism. If the peace movement is often met with mockery and scorn, the friends of peace will find these the sharpest weapons for their own use. For war is becoming more and more terrible and the present armaments must inevitably bring the nations to pauperism. The peace cause may move slowly, but it is not the first which has taken generations for its accomplishment. A constant appeal to the masses will bring us ever nearer the goal.

The chief address of the evening, curiously enough, was made by a military man, Lieutenant-Colonel von Egidy of Berlin. The discourse was an hour and a quarter long and a masterly one in every way. It was frequently interrupted by the heartiest applause on the part of the great audience. A brief summary gives but a very imperfect idea of his eloquent appeal for the removal of the feelings and habits of thought which lead to war. War, he said, is only an attendant phenomenon of the present imperfect moral development. The real evil is not so much war as the unrighteousness out of which violence springs. Violence is not synonymous with force and the power which springs from it. Force and power are holy attributes of humanity. In the service of unrighteousness they become violence, something unholy. This violence we must overcome, if we wish to put an end to war. We can not imagine the disappearance of war under the continuance of existing conditions. Men must be changed, single individuals, the mass of society. Peace will be merely the sign of a "warless" time. In order to bring on this time a new habit of thought must possess our innermost being. We must subdue the disposition of men to treat each other as enemies, and teach them to believe themselves members one of another. The feeling of solidarity which is felt by a people must be carried out to the family of peoples, the whole civilized world. This conception of solidarity, must however be kept in harmony with that of the right of self-determination, which other nations have also. Otherwise we should have subordination, slavery. The idea of self-determination leads to tolerance. From tolerance we reach the conception of forbearance towards our fellowmen, whose faults are due in part to the circumstances under which they live.

Only by way of systematic education do we reach completeness. Our whole life to-day is conducted according to the principles, "Thou shalt" and "Thou shalt not." We must substitute for these "I will," "I will be good, because I can not be otherwise." To instil this "will-be-good" in the child and to cherish it in the grown-up man is education. "Everything through education!" A man educated to perfect righteousness will feel as deeply an act of unrighteousness done to him. That is well. He will thus be a combatant for righteousness. But in the wrongs done him he will see not wilful injuries, but only the expression of a faulty education. He will seek to educate men to a better life. He will not think of revenge either through the duel or through the law. What changes in our people must take place to bring on the time when there shall be no disposition to war! It is not a question of war on the battle-field alone, but of war in all its phases. Woman is engaged with man to-day in a justifiable war for her freedom. There can not be peace until the cause of this struggle for freedom has ceased. The people must be trained also to industrial peace. Every one must be granted and have secured to him an existence worthy of man. Then will the hateful strife between laborer and capitalist, between producer and consumer fall away of itself. So far as religion is concerned, the individual's belief must be held to be his sacred possession, and, if an honorable belief, respected by all. Every man is his own high priest. Confessionalism must disappear from our people. The idea of ruler and ruled as found to-day in the civilized world must disappear. I speak not of monarchy or of republicanism. Let those who take pleasure in the idea of a King, as I do, retain it. But nobody must be longer "ruled." Rulers must not exist who claim the right to enforce their will by violence.

Turning to the peace movement von Egidy said that the past with its wars must not be despised. Many of our fellowmen still hold war to be a necessity, an arena where the noblest virtues are developed. Without being clear about it, they hold war to be as holy an activity as beneficence. One and the same priest blesses cannon and dedicates a charity-bazar (great laughter and applause). In peace work all side-questions must be avoided. It is irrelevant whether there be a standing army or a militia, one year's service or five year's service, rapid firing cannon or revolving rifles. The task is to suppress in ourselves and our fellowmen the disposition to take up arms. We need not trouble ourselves too much about relieving the sufferings of war. It is not our business to make battlefields more pleasant.

What is to take the place of war will come of itself as cases of difficulty arise. I can not withhold the thought, however, that compulsory arbitration is inconsistent with the idea of a state of peace. The idea of compulsion would imply the possession of a force sufficient to dictate one's will at the cannon's mouth. The question is not whether cannon shall be the *ultima ratio regis* or the *ultima ratio* of a court of arbitration. Our task is to see that cannon shall never again be used (great applause).

In the child must love and gentleness be awakened. This education must be carried forward in the schools. The present school directs its entire education toward war—in its religious instruction, in its historical instruction, even in the school festivals. This must all be changed. The children must not be taught to despise

the past, but there must be awakened in them the feeling that they ought to grow superior to the men of the present time, that they ought to develop beyond their parents and teachers. But this can not be accomplished unless those who are mature can be made to feel their obligations in this regard. We must have the parents, the leaders of the life of our people. From this assembly must the idea of peace be carried out into the hearts of all Germans, and of all peoples. Not only the believers in peace must have their say; the believers in war, those who incite to war, we must summon to the bar; before the assembled peace-loving people must they be compelled to confess whether they are in earnest with their religiosity and their moral philosophy. We peace forces must make the attack, must make the air resound with the earnestness with which we contend for righteousness, against violence and for the establishment of peace. We men do not make the law according to which development goes forward. But the same mysterious Power which has put upon this law the stamp of its will has put into us the capacity to push out into that which is to be, and with the knowledge of this there arises within us the purpose to try to realize our ideals of the future. In this way we are at the same time the bearers and the fulfillers of the law of development. In this way we are the forerunners of peace, called to struggle to bring on the time when war shall be no more, not in glittering fantastic manner, not with dreamy illusions, but with the holy purpose to bring into living reality what inspires our inmost souls. In this way are we to strive for a higher order of civilization, for a larger prevalence of right, for the overthrow of violence, for the conquest of war.

The Baroness von Suttner was the next speaker. She seemed almost frightened as she ascended the tribune amid the greatest applause. She declared that she had never before faced such an audience. The vast assembly was almost as still as death while the general-in-chief of the peace forces, as she has been well called, made her address regarding the purpose and character of the peace movement, "the abolition of war as an institution for the adjustment of disputes between peoples, the introduction of international arbitration, the doing away with the fist-right of the stronger, the creation of a peaceful federation of all civilized lands." The peace associations she declared to be centres for the gathering of those of like mind, in order to influence public opinion. The peace unions are not at all collections of queer-heads who wish to force their views on a resisting public; they are rather an early flower, a prophecy of that springtime which is at last to put an end to the gloomy winter of human misery growing out of men's hatred of one another. To-day in every direction throughout the whole world there is a pressing desire for freedom, for happiness, for the elevation of humanity. The peace societies are pursuing only one of the routes all of which lead to the same goal of the further development of civilization. Each of the agencies is pulling a different rope, but it is the same bell which they are ringing. After painting in the darkest colors the horrors of war, she declared it to be the most imperative duty of all peoples, especially of those who are the leaders of civilization, to prevent the awful disasters of a possible future war. She declared the friends of peace to be to those who really desire war as ten thousand to one. But the latter are

in power and have the purse-strings in their hands. The peace movement has reached, however, a practical stage. The Anglo-American treaty, which had failed of ratification, would soon, she was sure, be a realized fact. In conclusion she made a strong appeal to all those whose wishes and sympathies were in favor of peace to connect themselves with the peace associations, whose work is no mere play, but a holy war against sorrow, hatred and death, a noble work of human love, an inspired and hopeful effort to bring blessing to all peoples. There was almost no end to the applause which followed the Baroness' noble appeal for the cause to which she has given her life.

Almost equal applause was given to Frederic Passy, the noble French apostle of peace, who spoke next, and in a strain similar to that of the Baroness von Suttner, pleading for a greater love and respect between peoples. The other speakers of the evening were Felix Lacaze of Paris, Dr. Nyström of Stockholm, and Hodgson Pratt of London, whose address closed at nearly midnight the most remarkable public peace meeting we have ever had the privilege of attending.

#### SECOND DAY.

At the opening of the third session on Friday morning the Baroness von Suttner communicated to the Congress several letters of greeting which had been entrusted to her: one from a woman's peace society in Palermo, one from a similar society in Milan, one from a German-English society just formed for the promotion of friendly relations between Germany and Great Britain.

Madame Vincent of Paris brought the greetings of 180 French labor organizations with a membership of 150,000, whom she represented.

Miss Ellen Robinson gave the greetings of the International Association of Women; Mr. Thomas Snape, the greetings of William Randal Cremer, president of the International Arbitration League of London; Mrs. Lina Morgenstern of Berlin, the greetings of three French and several German Women's Societies; Miss Otilie Hoffman of Bremen, the greetings of the Federation of Womens' Clubs, whose seventy-six separate organizations have a membership of 60,000. The President read a letter of greeting from Mrs. Lockwood of Washington on behalf of the society of which she is the president.

The Congress then took up the regular order of business. The Committee to whom the subject had been referred reported its approval of the Report of the International Peace Bureau. The Congress then passed a resolution thanking the Bureau and its secretary for the work of the year, expressing approval of the ideas contained in the report, and its special pleasure that the Bureau had taken advantage of every proper occasion for calling public attention to the principles advocated by the peace societies. The Bureau was invited to take similar steps in the future whenever such action might appear useful.

On the report of the Committee to which juridic subjects had been referred, an interesting discussion arose on the subject of international arbitration, which occupied the rest of this and the afternoon session. The first address was made by Mr. Emile Arnaud, Chairman of the Committee. The discussion was participated in by J. G. Alexander of England, Gaston Moch of Paris, Hodgson Pratt, Thomas Snape and Felix Moscheles of England, Mr. Lorenzen of Hamburg, B. F. Trueblood, and others. The following resolutions were then voted:

"The Congress invites the International Peace Bureau to bring to the knowledge of governments the Code of International Arbitration voted by the Peace Congress at Antwerp in 1894 and to call their attention to the desirability of applying this Code in future cases of arbitration.

"The Congress, considering the resolution previously passed in favor of introducing an arbitral clause in all treaties, earnestly recommends the introduction of this clause especially in treaties of alliance.

"The Congress, holding that all differences between peoples should be settled by juridical methods, expresses its intention to promote the amelioration of international relations so as to allow of the establishment of an international tribunal to which all states may have recourse. It urges the peace societies to do all that is possible to have inserted in the constitution of civilized states the obligation to submit international disputes to arbitration or some other juridical process."

In the evening a banquet was given the members of the Congress in the main building of the Horticultural Exposition then going on in Hamburg. About three hundred guests sat down at the table. The different courses were interlarded with speeches all bearing more or less on the peace cause, and the advantages of Hamburg as a city from which to propagate peace principles.

#### THIRD DAY.

At the opening of the fifth session, on Saturday morning, the Baroness von Suttner communicated to the Congress that Henri Dunant, founder of the Red Cross Society, had given in his formal adherence to the peace movement. This information was received with great pleasure by the Congress. General Türr from Hungary made interesting remarks in connection with the subject.

The order of the day was then taken up and after some discussion a resolution was voted inviting the peace societies of different countries to create a committee of enquiry to discover the best method of promoting the peace movement at the Paris Exposition in 1900. These local committees are to form next year a special committee which shall make suitable preparation for presenting the peace cause at the Exposition.

An interesting paper by E. T. Moneta of Italy was presented to the Congress on the subject of correspondence between students of different countries, in which he stated that already, upon the initiative of Professor Mieille of Draguignan, France, a number of groups of French, English, German and Italian students were already in regular correspondence with one another. The Congress expressed by resolution its approval of such correspondence as a new means of international pacification and encouraged the peace societies to promote it as far as possible.

The next subject considered was that of a Students' International Congress. This subject awakened much interest in the Congress, and addresses were made by Gaston Moch of Paris, Mr. Prudhommeaux of Lyons, Mr. Luzzatti of Turin, Dr. Kolben of Vienna, Hodgson Pratt, Frederic Passy, Mr. Lorenzen and others. A resolution was passed expressing pleasure at the fact that Mr. Tos, President of the University Association of Turin, has called an international congress of students to meet in that city in 1898, with the view of founding a universal federation of students, designed to promote the interests of peace.

The Congress next took up the relationship of the press

to the peace movement. This gave rise also to an interesting discussion, and the Peace Bureau at Berne was invited to put itself into communication with the Central Committee of the Press Association Union, with the view of securing the coöperation of the Union in promoting international fraternity. The Congress was informed that an International Association of Journalists was being formed in Paris with forty members.

A resolution was then passed favoring a general demonstration by the societies in favor of peace, on the 22d of February next year, similar to the demonstration made by many of the societies for the last two years. Some objection was made to the date as unsuitable in some countries, but it was finally agreed to be as good as any which could be found. Remarks upon the resolution were made by Felix Moscheles, Frederik Bajer, Thomas Snape, B. F. Trueblood and others.

On the subject of propaganda, a resolution was passed expressing hearty approval of the work of the Arbitration Alliance of the Churches, whose great petition signed by 165 representative church officials had been completed and already presented to several of the thirty-two heads of government for whom it was intended; also commending the activity of the friends of peace in Scandinavia in securing half a million signatures to a petition in favor of peace.

At the close of this session, Mr. Lorenzen informed the Congress that at the request of the German members the Interparliamentary Conference, which had just closed its sessions in Brussels, had voted that in case of a difference between two countries, the parliamentary group of its members in one country should put themselves into immediate communication with the group in the other country with the view of getting and publishing exact information as to the nature and causes of the dispute and the speediest means of adjusting it. The Congress expressed much pleasure at this action.

The evening of Saturday was given up to a boat ride around the harbor of Hamburg, a visit to some of the big steamers lying at anchor there, a trip down the Elbe to Blankenese, one of the most beautiful of Hamburg's suburbs, and a supper at the Süllberg restaurant, Süllberg being a fine hill overlooking the river and the surrounding region. The speaking at this supper, presided over by the Baron von Suttner, was exceptionally good and did not close till nearly midnight. The speakers were Dr. Haberland of Berlin, Dr. Löwenberg of Hamburg, Mr. Elie Ducommun, Secretary of the Peace Bureau, B. F. Trueblood, Dr. Novicow, the Russian sociologist (whose toast to the unity of France and Germany was the cleverest thing of its kind we have heard), Frederic Passy, Lieut.-Col. von Egidy, Mr. Fricke of Hamburg, the Baroness von Suttner, Dr. Wagner of Hamburg, Senator Fleva of Bucharest, Mr. Feldhaus of Basel, E. T. Moneta of Italy. As the boat left the landing to return, the restaurant on the Süllberg where the evening had been spent was finely illuminated and presented a most brilliant spectacle.

On Sunday about one hundred and fifty members of the Congress went on an all-day excursion to Heligoland in the North Sea. The other members remained in Hamburg, attended various religious services and rested.

#### FOURTH DAY.

The labors of the Congress were resumed on Monday morning at half-past nine. Mrs. Brinton who had just

arrived from Stockholm, conveyed personally to the Congress the greetings of the National Arbitration Association of Washington, on behalf of Mrs. Lockwood.

The subject of the duel was first taken up. After brief remarks by Felix Lacaze, the Abbé Pichot of France, Hodgson Pratt, Senator La Fontaine of Brussels, the Baroness von Suttner and Mr. Lorenzen, all of whom spoke in the strongest condemnation of the duel under any circumstances, the following resolution was passed :

"The Congress has heard with pleasure that a number of German Students' Unions have taken a vigorous stand against the duel, and hopes that other Unions may follow their example. In consideration of the fact that the duel was abolished in England, on the suggestion of Prince Albert, by the Minister of War, who declared that every officer who should accept a challenge should be degraded, and further that the reform was supported by the officers of the army and navy, the Congress expresses the hope that a similar course may be followed in other countries."

Returning to the subjects of international arbitration and international law, the following resolutions presented by the committee were passed without much discussion and with great unanimity :

"The Congress thanks the Interparliamentary Conference for the resolutions favorable to the conclusion of permanent treaties of arbitration adopted by it at its recent meeting at Brussels, and in particular for the proposal to open negotiations for such a treaty between Belgium and Great Britain on the occasion of a special arbitration now before them.

"In common with the Interparliamentary Conference, it rejoices that responsible statesmen of two of the greatest powers of the world, the United States of America and Great Britain, have, by the project of a treaty which they had adopted, admitted the possibility of binding their respective countries by a permanent treaty of arbitration. It trusts that their example will be fruitful.

"The Congress, while profoundly regretting that the proposed treaty was not ratified by the Senate of the United States, is happy to learn that a new Anglo-American treaty is being prepared; and that the government of the United States is disposed to give a favorable consideration to the proposals for arbitration treaties which may be submitted to it by the representatives of the French and Swiss Republics accredited to Washington.

"The Congress expresses the hope that by the time of its next meeting it will be able to welcome the conclusion of several permanent arbitration treaties, either general or applicable only to disputes of a special class whenever the conclusion of general treaties appears impossible."

The last clause of the above series of resolutions was inserted at the urgent solicitation of Mr. Hodgson Pratt, supported by B. F. Trueblood and others, who felt that the Congress ought heartily to encourage the negotiation of limited treaties where governments were not ready to agree to submit all classes of disputes to arbitration.

The following resolutions touching international law were also adopted :

"The Congress invites the International Peace Bureau to bring to the notice of governments and parliaments the principles of public international law adopted by the congresses of Rome and Buda-Pesth. The Congress begs the Bureau to give the greatest possible publicity to these principles and the grounds underlying them.

"The Congress authorizes the juridical sub-committee

of the International Peace Bureau to make such verbal alterations as may be thought necessary in the code of international arbitration and in the chapters of the code of public international law which have already been voted."

The subject of Councils or Committees of International Conciliation, presented in a paper by Mr. Pratt, was then taken up. The difficulties in the way of the creation and maintenance of such committees in the great capitals were recognized, but the Congress was heartily in favor of the idea, if it could be carried out. The following resolution was voted :

"The Congress learns with pleasure of the action of the Interparliamentary Conference in regard to the creation of committees of international conciliation. It expresses the wish that an efficient organization may be established in Europe with a view to ascertaining and publishing the real facts on occasions when false and dangerous statements are put into circulation among the people of one nation against another nation. The subject is commended to the most careful attention of the peace societies and of all the friends of peace."

A committee of five persons was appointed to coöperate with the Peace Bureau in studying and promoting the subject.

The subjects of an international language and of the transformation of destructive armies into productive ones, on which carefully-prepared papers had been presented to the Congress by Senor Raqueni and Gaston Moch, were, for lack of time and because of the impossibility of doing anything practical in regard to them, put off to a future Congress.

#### CLOSING SESSION.

The closing session opened at 3 o'clock. The time and place of holding the next Congress being under discussion, it was voted that the Congress be held again next year, though some members were of opinion that a Congress every two years would promote the cause just as well and be much less expensive. Magelhaes Lima of Lisbon presented the claims of that city as the place for holding the next meeting, and gave a most cordial invitation to the Congress to meet in that city next year. Mr. Luzatti, on behalf of the Peace Society of Turin, invited the Congress to choose that city as the seat of the next Congress. After listening to these invitations, the subject was turned over to the Peace Bureau at Berne. The appeal to the nations (given in full below), which had been prepared by the general secretary, Mr. Elie Ducommun, was then read. The Congress listened to the reading in perfect silence and with evident seriousness as if filled with a sense of the profound significance of the great object in whose interests it had gathered. After the reading of the appeal, which was accepted by acclamation, votes of thanks were passed in recognition of the services of the president, Dr. Richter, of the Business Committee, of the local committee and of the local press, which had so fully reported the proceedings. Then with a few appropriate words the president declared the Congress closed.

In the evening the members of the Congress dined together at the Hotel de l' Europe, and many short and interesting speeches were made during the course of the evening. Mr. Hodgson Pratt presided in a most admirable manner.

#### APPEAL TO THE NATIONS.

"In past times slavery and torture were considered indispensable to the maintenance of social order. The

opinion of the masses subsequently suppressed those barbarous institutions. The relations between the citizens of the same country have been put upon a secure basis of law and order, and no one would wish to return to the régime of arbitrary government.

There is the same need of security among the nations, and every year that passes amidst the sufferings of a threatening situation renders the need more imperative.

Education, the good sense of the masses and the identity of interests of the populations in all civilized states are establishing a current of public opinion which will be irresistible when the nations themselves desire that it should be so.

Let no one say that there are some international disputes which can be settled only by an appeal to violence. War would not settle any of the grave problems of our age; it would only render them more difficult in the near future.

It is for you, citizens of all nations, to demand that the pacific declarations which the governments feel the necessity of constantly reiterating should result in the creation of permanent institutions.

The Universal Peace Congress met for the first time on German soil, in the free city of Hamburg, includes representatives from seventeen nations of Europe and America. It appeals to public opinion and earnestly asks for its support. The dangers of the present situation of Europe are well known to everybody.

Members of the great human family, whatever your social position, you all have the same need of justice, of concord and of peace. Unite your efforts; no human power will be able to resist them; and by proclaiming the reign of justice in the relations between nation and nation you will at the same time have proclaimed for your families security from the disasters of war in the future."

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## ADDRESSES DELIVERED AT THE MO-HONK ARBITRATION CONFERENCE.

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### ADDRESS OF PRESIDENT DREHER.

Deeply interested though I am in the cause of arbitration, I have not been able before this to attend a Mohonk Conference on that great question, owing to the fact that the Conferences are held so near the Commencement season of our Southern colleges. Having enjoyed three of the Indian Conferences, I have found it increasingly difficult to decline an invitation to Mohonk. Hence I have "strained a point" to be here at the present Conference.

I regret that I cannot point with pride to the position of the senators from Virginia and other Southern states on this question, as my friend, the Secretary of the Conference, has done with reference to the senators from New England. But I am happy to say that the colleges and universities of the South, like those at the North, are on the right side of the arbitration question.

As I understand it, we have met this evening, not to discuss the merits of arbitration in general, or of the recently proposed Anglo-American treaty in particular, or to express our regrets at the rejection of that treaty by the Senate; but the topic before us is the causes which led to the failure of the Senate to ratify that treaty. In the first place, it may be said that the treaty came before the Senate at an inauspicious time. The attitude first

assumed by England with reference to the boundary question in Venezuela, and then the inaction of Great Britain during the Armenian massacres, and the long-delayed intervention in the war between Greece and Turkey, had produced an unfavorable feeling—not to say real distrust—on the part of our people towards the English government. It was particularly unfortunate, also, that the treaty came before the Senate so soon after a heated political campaign, fought mainly on the issue of free coinage of silver. The advocates of "free silver" view with disfavor any closer relations with England, since they believe that our financial legislation is controlled in the interests of that country, which is on the gold basis. It is certainly not a mere coincidence that the silver-producing states were arrayed solidly against the ratification of the proposed treaty, and that so large a majority of the other senators in favor of the free coinage of silver also voted against ratification. In this connection it should also be borne in mind that the stand taken by President Cleveland and his Cabinet in the late presidential campaign intensified the feeling of antagonism on the part of the advocates of free silver against any measure proposed as the crowning act of an administration which they cordially disliked. Whatever weight may be given to the various arguments against the treaty, I think it may be safely affirmed that had it come before the Senate a year earlier, unembarrassed by these peculiar political or party questions, it would almost certainly have been ratified by an overwhelming majority.

A good deal has been said recently about the hatred felt by Americans towards England. We are told by men like Mr. Depew that such a feeling is pretty general in the United States, and others inform us that this sentiment of ill-will is fostered by the manner in which the Revolutionary War is treated in the histories used in our schools. This reminds me of the criticisms we hear of the histories of our Civil War, some people at the North complaining that these books are too favorable to the South, while many Southern people declare that these same books do the South so great injustice that it is important to have other histories prepared for use in Southern schools. For myself, I cannot believe that there is to any considerable extent a feeling of ill-will among our people towards the English, whom we seldom think of as foreigners, but as our brethren of the great Anglo-Saxon race. Nor do I believe that our school histories incite any feeling of hatred towards England.

It has been said in this Conference that the "old war feeling" in the South was opposed to the treaty. I happen to be a Southerner myself,—a native of South Carolina and an adopted son of Virginia, and I may add also that I am an ex-Confederate soldier, though far from being a veteran in that service. I venture to say that, notwithstanding a little "jingoism" now and then, there is no desire on the part of the Southern people for war; but if war should come in spite of all efforts to the contrary, there would be no lack of loyalty at the South to the old flag. It seems to me that the military spirit is fostered to an unnecessary extent in our country; and although it may be urged that military discipline develops manly character, I cannot repress a sense of sincere regret that so many of the boys of our country are in military schools or under military training. That our government must for years to come maintain a military and a naval academy may be admitted; but it does not seem